

TWO WARS FOR ONE LIFE: VERBALISATION OF EXPERIENCE DURING THE WAR

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the oral recollections of Leonida Stanislavivna Panchyk, born in 1939 in Makariv district, Kyiv region, where she has lived all her life. The oral recollections were recorded from February 26 to March 5, 2022, during the beginning of the active phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war. The uniqueness and special value of the presented records lies in the fact that they demonstrate the living life of the Ukrainian narrative tradition. The recorded narrative is a direct reaction to the war. The analysed material and the study of the living situation gave grounds to distinguish the following three groups of reasons that caused the emergence of a memory: characters, events, place. The associative logical sequence of plots in memories is described. All the stories are a child's memories and primarily describe events that are important to the child. Panchyk's memories are sustained in one ideological, thematic and genre direction, they are not diluted by other themes or genres.

KEYWORDS: oral narrative • World War II • Russian-Ukrainian war • oral memories • memories of the war

INTRODUCTION: THE CONTEXT OF RECORDING

Before the active phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war in 2022, there was a stereotypical idea in Kyiv that it would be safer to live in a remote village during the war. The capital would definitely be attacked and it could become unliveable when the electricity, gas and water supply disappeared. Many people left the capital for suburban villages and towns. On the second day of the war, February 25, 2022, my husband took me and my children to the village Sobolivka, Makariv district, Kyiv region. It very quickly became clear that such a move did not guarantee salvation from the war at all – on the contrary,

many people found themselves in danger because at the beginning of the invasion many areas around Kyiv were occupied and took the brunt of the invasion. Sobolivka was not occupied, but we constantly heard and saw the shelling and bombardment of Makariv, Borodianka, and the Zhytomyr highway. The neighbouring villages Korolivka and Kodra came under fire. We lived in Sobolivka for ten days until March 7, when we walked to Kodra, from where we were evacuated to Lviv.

Between February 27 and March 5, 2022, I recorded several conversations with our hostess, Leonida Stanislavivna Panchyk.¹ She agreed to receive me, my son, his wife Anna and my two daughters. Panchyk is a relative of my daughter-in-law Anna. So, five guests lived in Panchyk's house during the first ten days of the war.

Panchyk was born in 1939. Since the death of her husband almost 30 years ago she has lived alone. She has no children, but numerous nephews visit her often. She turned out to be a talented storyteller who remembered the events of the Second World War, comparing the current and former situation and giving her impressions, therefore the source material of the article are oral history stories about the events of the Second World War, told during the Russian-Ukrainian war. The uniqueness of this material is that it is not recorded at the request of the researcher, but arose as a direct reaction to the events of the war. The stories are records of the living life of the Ukrainian narrative tradition.

The purpose of the article is to show how the situation affects the verbalisation of memories and how an oral text emerges from a narrator's passive memory. In addition the article will reveal and describe the mechanisms for creating oral memories about the war and analyse the plot features of these memories. The material was collected using the method of included observation, when the researcher lives with the narrator over an extended period and they experience events together, in this case under extreme conditions of military aggression. During our conversations we touched upon different subjects in addition to the war histories. For example, Panchyk also told a story about the destruction of the church in Zabujanna in the 1960s, recalled events after the Chernobyl disaster, described how resin was extracted from local pine forests, and talked about the region's wedding ceremony. Unlike war memories, these stories were answers to my direct questions, so these are not included in this article.

The research was carried out in the context of modern folkloristic studies on oral history narratives, as part of which the recording situation, individual features of the narrator's performance, determination of ways and means of memory preservation and verbalisation of lived experience, and functional features of traditional oral history narratives and their subject matter are important to the researcher. The methodological basis of this study stems from the works of Ukrainian and foreign folklorists on the artistic features of folk tales (Myshanych 1986), on the recording situation and individual style of a storyteller (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1989; Britsyna 2006; Jaago 2012), on structure of personal experience narratives (Labashchuk 2013; Calabria 2019), on the folklorisation of oral history as a mechanism for preserving historical memory (Ivannikova 2014), and on the main semantic concepts of the Ukrainian folklore tradition about World Wars (Kuzmenko 2018; Pastukh 2022). In revealing the functional features of oral history narratives, the conclusions of the Polish folklorist Dorota Simonides (1972: 22) are important, i.e. for the storyteller as a witness the main importance is not the form, but the content of the story, its cognitive function.

The novelty of the research lies in the narratives: these oral history stories depicting the events of war are recordings made within the Ukrainian narrative tradition. As the storyteller has already experienced two wars in her life, it was possible to ascertain the main factors that gave rise to the oral texts, determine the ways of unpacking the memory, and describe the linguistic means of verbalising life experiences.

THE MAIN FACTORS IN THE EMERGENCE OF THE NARRATIVE

Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj (1989: 74) highlights the narrator, the listeners and various contexts as the factors that “clearly influence the way a story is verbalised on different occasions”. My narrator presented herself as a person who was well-known and respected in the village community. She worked for a long time as a saleswoman in a shop and later as an accountant in a local enterprise. Panchyk’s memories are told in a serious manner, they are not diluted with jokes, anecdotes or even mythological legends. My informant tells only those stories that she heard from people she trusted or that she experienced herself. The manner of Panchyk’s narration is slow, she does not rush to speak, she calmly remembers the events of the recent past and of her childhood. She gives many explanations and descriptions as she understood that her listener did not know much about her village or the Second World War. All memories have a local character and a personal connection: they cover events that happened in one place and were connected with the her own life.

Panchyk found an interested listener in me, so she willingly shared her memories and thoughts. Perhaps the set of stories about a child during the war was caused by the fact that I came to her house with the children whom I tried to save from the war. In my youngest daughter, whose father went to war, Panchyk saw herself, since she was almost the same age when her father went to the Second World War.

The personality of the narrator and the presence of listeners are mandatory conditions for the performance of a narrative, but the content of these narratives was most influenced by the recording situation. When the narrator saw a child saying goodbye to her father, who was going to war, she remembered herself and her father. The narrator received refugees in her house and talked about refugees staying in the house during Second World War. In connection with the house, and with strangers being in it, the narrator mentions strangers who lived there during the Second World War (Soviet and German soldiers). Several times she gave instructions to passing refugees, explaining which road to take, and this reminded her of helping people from Germany find the grave of their relative. The explosions we heard reminded my storyteller of the explosions that were used here in peacetime to uproot forests. The analysed material and the study of the everyday situations gave grounds to distinguish the following three groups of reasons that caused the emergence of a memory: characters (a child, refugees), events (danger from occupiers, searching for a way to escape, explosions), and place (the house).

My six-year-old daughter Anna was the first reason for Panchyk to verbalise memories. On the first day after our arrival, I wrote down a rather long story with several plots thanks to the fact that Panchyk saw how Anna behaved. Panchyk mentioned the similar behaviour of children during the Second World War: they did not want to sit in a cellar to hide from shelling, they do not understand that there is mortal danger around them, they are constantly looking for an occasion to run out of the shelter.

Here, not far from our garden, a plane was shot down. [... The mother] had a very young daughter, from [19]39, so she was... she was only four years old [...] So they were in the cellar. And she sits in the cellar, and she wanted to... I don't know... something. And: "Mum, mum!" she will run out, she will run to the yard. And they don't let her, because there was shooting here. That's why I want to say that this your girl doesn't understand either, but she needs to. (February 26, 2022)

Next, Panchyk told me about her siblings and how babies were cared for in the post-war period:

LP: Dad had already gone to the front. There was a rift between my parents. As soon as dad came back from the front, a boy was born in [19]49. He was born on September 12. And our hut was so small. And the cradle – was sticks. They were knocked down. [...] There were no such masters. These, who are older, may be able to do it, my grandparents and he [father] was still young at that time. Well, then it was like that in that time. Then there was such a *nochwy*... Do you know what that is?

IK-F: I know. It's an oval bowl made of wood.

LP: It's made of wood. It was used for little children to sleep, in the summer. The house was full of flies! They put them under the bed. It's dark there, those flies don't climb there. (February 26, 2022)

Panchyk describes the simple tools that her parents used to make a cradle. She emphasises that it was a very primitive and imperfect product, but there were no skilled master carpenters in the post-war period. Further conversation shows that this fragment about the cradle was needed to explain the death of her own brother:

IK-F: So what year was your brother born?

LP: In [19]49, September 12. And it was before winter. And there was only one room, and there was a barn and a cow and a pig. And the chickens were there. And the frosts were terrible! Minus 30! When they opened the door, and this cold will roll around the house... grey as frost. And the cradle was hanging. And as frost goes around the house, it also goes under the cradle. Well, that child got sick, and he... And this was, mind you, the post-war period. There was no such medicine yet. My parents treated him themselves. It was pneumonia. He died on February 23. (February 26, 2022)

A homemade cradle did not protect the baby from the frost. Children often fell ill and died due to lack of medical care. Perhaps this is already a modern conclusion from my

storyteller, made from the position of life experience, but at that time, in order to save the baby's life, parents resorted to magical methods:

Well, those parents were already sorry. Not one baby died – then two died. And then he was born in [19]51. A boy was born again, this brother, he is alive now. And what they advise: it should be called by a living name. And since I am Leonida, the boy was named Leonid. [...] I am L'onya, and he is L'onik. (February 26, 2022)

Immediately after the fragment about the magical naming of a child in order to preserve his life, Panchyk briefly mentioned the family traditions of choosing a name for a boy. Then she mentioned other children of her family and talks in detail the death of her grandmother's children during the war:

LP: And in our family, specifically on my father's side, there were Tolias. And the grandmother had nine children. [...] At my father's mother's. And there were seven in my mother's family. That's when the war started, right from the first days, near the house was a forest. The front had already left from here, and he [the uncle] went and jumped on a mine. Oh, it blew him to pieces, and three children remained. And the second was younger. Then he reached Vasylkiv [a town near Kyiv], and he was killed there. No one brought him anywhere, only the *chornova*² that was written, where he died. That's all. Grandmother was given a pension of five roubles or so... Gradually a little was added. She was already getting paid for that son. He was already married, his wife was from Rivne. And the baby was born when that uncle was already gone. But that child also died soon. (February 26, 2022)

Panchyk described in detail the circumstances of her uncle's death: the time (the beginning of the war), the cause (he stepped on a mine), the place (near the house, not far from the forest), the actions that preceded the tragedy (the front was here), the manner of death (the mine blew him to pieces), the result of the death (three children were orphans). One can assume that it was the Russia-Ukraine war that revived this tragic event in the woman's memory. She did not just mention this case, but tried to describe it carefully, to emphasise the dangers even after the front has moved away. With the same thoroughness, Panchyk described the death of another uncle, paying attention to the events that took place after his death. She mentioned the place of death, the fact that no one brought the body home and the relatives were not able to bury him. The method of reporting the death and the state compensation to the mother for her murdered son are also mentioned. After the uncle's death, his wife remained a widow, and the orphaned child soon died.

Next, Panchyk briefly told me about other relatives, and dwelled in detail on the fate of her younger sister, whom her parents named Antonina (Tolichka), at Panchyk's request. She ended her narration with a story about her sister's untimely death. The plot sequence of the narration is as follows: the child does not want to sit in the cellar; how a cradle was made; the child died of pneumonia; naming the child with a living name; an uncle from a large family was blown up by a mine, his children became orphans; the premature death of narrator's younger sister Antonina. The whole story fits into the thematic field of war and children. The associative and logical sequence of memory is as follows: a child during war; the children of my parents; the children of my grandmother who died during the war; the illness and death of children in the parental family. The

main idea of this story is that war is dangerous for children because they do not know how to behave properly (they do not want to hide in bunkers), it is difficult to take care of them in war and post-war periods (there are no craftsmen to make the cradle correctly, there is no proper medical care), parents die as a result of war, and children are orphaned.

Naturally, at the beginning of the Russia-Ukraine war, Leonida's father became an important character in her memory, since he was a participant in the Second World War and was lucky to return home alive, although he was wounded three times:

LP: I say I don't know much about war. I know very well when dad was taken away. [...] He reached Zhytomyr, he was wounded there, and he was sent home, it seems. Then it was necessary to go further [...] But my mother went to that Zhytomyr, more than once. She took him food. And that was wartime, too.

IK-F: And how did she get there?

LP: By car. These vehicles were driving, military, and they were taking her. She was not alone, there were people from our village [...]. They were hurt. And there they lay. And then, when he had recovered, then: "Catch up with your military unit!" [...] The first time he was [wounded] under the shoulder blade [...] the musculature was wounded. And then the second time he was wounded in the spine and in the lungs. When he died, there were those fragments in him... The shrapnel was like millet. I still have an X-ray of it [...] And then again, when it hit him in the thigh... But he still went all the way to Berlin. I don't even know where he was counted there. (February 27, 2022)

In the memory about her father's wounds, the emphasis is on the following points: in wartime, the wife goes to visit her husband in Zhytomyr, where he is in hospital; after treatment, the soldier had to return to his unit; despite being wounded three times, her father reached Berlin; her father lived with shrapnel from the wound until his death. The father is presented as a participant in the war who, despite being wounded, fought until victory and even lived a long life, dying at the age of 89 despite everything.

Another touching memory about Panchyk's father came up a short time after answering my questions about her grandparents:

When dad left [during the war], I was probably four years old. [...] I was smaller than this one [referring to my daughter Anna]. I had to go to my grandmother's with my mother. Then I go into the field, full of stubble after burning. And with such little legs? So I'm crying [...]: "When my father was here, he carried me." And he always put me down like that, they used to say 'on a ram' [smiles] and carried me. [...] "Oh, when my father was here, he carried me! And this stubble is stabbing me in the legs!" And then my mother sewed me such clothes [...] she sewed such slippers. After all, it protected me a little. Maybe I was in those slippers then, but the stubble still stung me. (February 27, 2022)

Leonida and my daughter Anna, both at preschool age, each in their own time, found themselves in a situation without a father. For a child, this situation of loss is painful both emotionally and physically. The child has to walk with almost unprotected legs on the stubble that pricks her, knowing that if her father was there he would have carried her. When the father returned, the daughter had already grown up. It is also important

to note that the text uses a fragment from a folk lament, a proof of the narrator's expertise in the folklore of her village. Wedding songs recorded by Panchyk also confirm this.

Characters: Refugees

Panchyk experienced refugees living in her house for a second time. Our arrival from Kyiv reminded her about a family who also lived in her parent's house for some time during the Second World War:

And then two or three families from Zhytomyr region also came to us, as if they were relatives. With children. There were women, no men, because the men had left. [...] Well, we sheltered them here. Well, they haven't been for a long time. But, how... dad was already wounded, how did he get there to them. Well, they already talked about him being from the Makariv district. "And from which village?" they asked him. He told them. And they say: "We were refugees there, where there is one house and three daughters-in-law". That's our house. Sometimes they lived here, then it was as they had a good time with us, and they also accepted him [father] like a family member, because they had already stayed here with us. (February 28, 2022)

This fragment contains a folklore fairy tale and apocryphal plot titled "Good Done Selflessly is Returned with Good":³ a woman kindly received refugees from Zhytomyr region, and later these refugees sheltered her husband in their home when he was looking for his military unit on the way from the hospital. He met exactly those people whom his wife had helped.

Next, Panchyk summarised the events during the first four days of the active phase of the Russian-Ukrainian war, describing the destruction the war brought to Ukraine. This brought her to the subject of refugees, people who ended up in someone else's house because they were trying to escape the danger of war. During the first ten days of the war, Panchyk repeatedly addressed the topic of refugees. Twice she mentioned refugees from the neighbouring village Kodra during the Second World War:

LP: Kodra was burned because there were partisans there. They gave some information to our troops. [...] And Kodra was set on fire from one end to the other.

IK-F: And where are the people?

LP: Well, they spread out, became refugees. (February 28, 2022)

During the war, the people from Kodra lived here. Kodra was burned, then who went where, just like today and now people from Kyiv. Well, the mother-in-law had them here. They were called refugees, they are the same as you, they were already refugees. (March 4, 2022)

Panchyk explained for the second time why Kodra was burned:

There were also partisans here. These are the Kodrians – many of them were in the partisans, because their village was surrounded by a forest. [...] There was a girl. Well, I don't know if she was simply shot or she was tortured [by] Germans. She is buried in Makarbuda [village]. I know what was written on the cross:

Come in, passing by
Visit my ashes
Because I'm already home
And you are still visiting.

And that was wartime, and such a plaque [...] is attached with nails to that cross. But now that cross is not there, because now it is eighty years after the war. [...] It used to be that before the 'time of graves' [a folk name for All Saints' Day], when the mothers come there to clean the graves, then we run and help a little there: we either dig or clear. We clean up the graves nicely. (March 4, 2022)

The first three components of the associative logical chain of the story *refugees – burned village – partisans* are presented in the reverse order: the refugees appeared because the neighbouring village was burned because there were partisans in it. Next is a memory about the grave and cross of a young partisan girl and a story about the annual preparation of graves for the holiday.

Events: Danger from Russian Occupiers

The main narrative told on February 27 was prompted by information that enemy soldiers from tank columns defeated near the town of Makariv could walk through the villages in the district. The potential mortal danger for civilians reminded the storyteller of the post-war situation in the same villages:

LP: Well, as the Second World War had already ended, and we had to go through the forest from Makrbuda to the market in Teteriv. [...] Well, a lot of women went. One was beaten to death, one had an eye gouged out. Not one – two were killed. One eye was knocked out, and one was so injured. They were walking along the road, and there was a mined road, just a forest line, because the forest is marked out in quarters. Well, here it is: after the war, they were disabled.

IK-F: Tell me, please, in what year did this happen?

LP: I can't tell you for sure. [...] Well, in [19]45 there was already a victory, then those people were not alive. Oh, even during the war, but there were no battles here. Yes. There were not. This is the one whose eye went out, she was my classmate's mother. And then two – they are two sisters. And one... There was another young one... No... She was already married. And the second woman had one son. Well, that son was born near [19]35, and his mother was killed, so he was already being raised by his mother's sister. (February 27, 2022)

As in previous stories, here Panchyk desires to convey the detail of the event: the place, the characters, the time, the circumstances, and the consequences. According to the main idea of the narrative, people die not only on the battlefield, the war also kills people even after it has ended. The events in the de-occupied Kyiv region confirm this: many people die and are injured due to mine explosions.

Events: Searching for a Safe Way

While we lived in Sobolivka, cars full of refugees who were looking for a way to the west of Ukraine drove past our house. Panchyk used to go out to these people and explain which road to take, because she knew the area well. This reminded her of a time when she helped people from Germany find the grave of a soldier. In the 1990s, two Germans came to their village, a father and a son, who were looking for the grave of their deceased relative:

We sat outside, me and my friend [...]. And a car drove past us [...]. The car has reached the end of the tarmac road [...] and turns around. It is coming to us. A young man gets out of the car, he is beautifully dressed, like young people. Well, with a formal outfit. [...] Then he asks:

“Do you know that there was a battle here? Are there buried German soldiers?”

“Why we don’t know? We know.”

“But where? Can you show me?”

“Well, why can’t we? We can.”

Well, let’s go. She uses two sticks, I still walked without sticks then, and she walked with sticks. Here we went to the place where the fence is. We stood here and said: “This is where they are buried.” Here, from the forest, there were four or six of them. [...] They had everything written down, where it was, where these battles took place, such as this. [...] We stand. They went a little further. They cut down that birch, made a cross out of it, picked flowers, because the flowers were already blooming, these are field and forest flowers. And they tied the bouquet to that cross. [...] And they came the next day with a translator. (February 28, 2022)

Both in this and the previous story, there are features characteristic of the individual narrative style of my interviewee: stating specific facts (the exact place of the conversation, detailed information about all characters, description of clothes, details of the meeting), transmission of the conversation in the form of a dialogue, preservation of the chronology of events, the desire to trace the logical and consequential connection of events. One more important feature, which prompted me to write this article, was that Panchyk sought to provide parallels to modern military events (“where these battles took place, such as this one”). Next, Panchyk, in response to my question, told me about the ostarbeiters who lived in her village until recently.

Events: Explosions

During our ten-day stay in Sobolivka, we constantly heard explosions from mines and shells. These terrible sounds revived in Panchyk’s memory the events of the 1980s, when the forests were cut down in these regions with the help of explosives:

We had very, very large forests. Well, the old ones, one hundred and even more years old. And at the same time, it was the main utility forest. This forest was cut down. They cut down the forest. They cut here, and the machine was special, such a logging machine [...] probably already in the [19]80s. Maybe even later. Bushes

were torn with explosives. There were explosions here. It was closer to the village: boom, boom. We were used to this booming, so it was not as scary to me. But then it was not so terrible, but now it is terrible. (February 28, 2022)

The story is built on the semantic chronological opposition 'then–now', in which post-war explosions were peaceful while and now they are deadly and frightening.

Place: House

Several stories in Panchyk's memories arose because we lived in an old house that had survived the Second World War. Panchyk said that in 2023 her house will be a hundred years old. The following story is based on the semantic opposition 'living in a house–sheltering in the trenches': "During the war they [mother-in-law's family] were at home here. Because then they left too... They dug trenches in the forest, and there they made dugouts in those trenches, and they were there. But it was around the house." (February 26, 2022)

The village hut became a resting place for Ukrainian soldiers during the Second World War:

Well, our house was small. There was just me and my mother. I slept with my mother, we had a wooden bed there. And these soldiers, they slept on the floor between the table and the threshold, they lay on the floor. The ground was clay, to say better. I know that they got up at dawn and left. Such cloaks were on them, some green, some slightly mottled. But mostly green. I know that they had dinner. Because when they got up, well, there was such a meal, it was some kind of German stew, so they already ate it. Well, I licked it... Either with my finger or something... It was very good to me, that stew. (February 27, 2022)

The story about the soldiers spending the night in the house is based on visual and gustatory childhood memories from the wartime. The child remembered what struck her: the soldiers were sleeping next to each other on the floor, they were wearing unusual clothes, and a jar of delicious stew was left behind, it could be tasted with just a finger. This plot is somewhat different from the previous ones: there is little factual data, and the emphasis is on Panchyk's memories of an event that struck her.

From the stories of her mother-in-law, Panchyk learned that Germans lived in the house where we lived during the Second World War. That is, both the house and its owners are experiencing another war.

The mother-in-law said when the Germans came here, and they [mother's family] were in the cellar, and Lina [the daughter] ran out of the cellar, asking for something. [...] And the German brings it, gives it to her. And then the mother-in-law was here where you are with your things. There was a stove. Then they [the Germans] added another stove, and they had a kitchen in the house, [...] they cooked here all the time. And the mother-in-law slept in the house here, because she was afraid that this kitchen would burn down the house. One time the mother-in-law went out to call someone, she cooked dinner. [...] Well, my husband's name is Arkady. She came out and called Arkady there, and the second one, Lenik: "Lenik-

woo-woo! Lenik-woo-woo!" They should go to dinner. And a German came out and said: "Woo-woo" [laughs]. It was interesting for him. (March 3, 2022)

The memory contains contamination of several messages. People are hiding in a cellar from shelling. One German turned out to be an ordinary, even kind person. He understood what the child wanted and gave it to her. Another positive and human memory is about a German jokingly repeating a mother calling her children to eat. This memory made Panchyk smile. In the second story, the narrator said that in this house there was a kitchen, where the Germans cooked their own food. The hostess was worried that the house would catch fire because of this, since they were almost always cooking something to eat. The stories present a positive image of the German, an image that is typical in modern Ukrainian narrative tradition of the Second World War. My 2020 records in Poltava region confirm this (Koval-Fuchylo 2020: 133).

It is only natural that a number of stories emanate from the house itself. The spatial architectural object is an important aspect in oral narratives of historical events (Koval-Fuchylo 2016; Kuzmenko 2018: 500–524).

CONCLUDING NOTES

The uniqueness and value of the materials presented lies in the fact that they are records of the living life of Ukrainian narrative tradition. The recorded texts are the narrator's direct reaction to the war and the events that she was experiencing. These texts show what factors contribute to the emergence of narrative, what prompts the narrator to recall past historical events, which she knows about from her own experience or from other people's stories. In the 'past war–modern war' semantic chronological opposition, the main focus is on the past war. At the same time, modern events evoke memories of the past.

The main factors that contributed to the emergence of a memory were people, events, and a place. One can conclude that these factors, which at one time greatly excited the narrator and were important in preserving people's lives (hiding from bombing, surviving after being wounded), were related to the situation of people dying (being blown up by a mine, the death of an infant from pneumonia), reviving the storyteller's childhood experiences (stubble that stung her legs). Hence, for the emergence of a memory, the emotional component of that memory is important.

The plots of the narratives unfold in an associative logical sequence, when one memory triggers memories of other experiences. The choice of subject depends on the recording situation and the respondent's life experience. In our case, all the plots of recorded memories were directly or indirectly connected to the place of recording – the storyteller's house. The linguistic features of memory depend on the individual manner of the storyteller and her familiarity with the local folklore tradition.

The memories I recorded from Panchyk show that the narrator had many recollections of the Second World War in her passive memory. The situation at the beginning of the Russian-Ukrainian war activated these memories. It is important to note that these are childhood memories as the narrator mainly talks about events that were important to her as a child (her father goes to war, her mother carries food to the wounded father in another city, the child sees strangers living in her house, she remembers the hungry

post-war years). The Ukrainian narrative tradition about the war has a local character. In addition, recorded memories are specifically women's memories: emotional, full of details, connected to home.

Panchyk considers the post-war years the most difficult years of her life because they were hungry: "The post-war years. Yes! [19]46 and [19]47, they were hungry years." (March 4, 2022) These observations by Panchyk encourage Ukrainians to be patient, to be ready for difficult times.

NOTES

- 1 The narrator gave written consent to the publication of these records with her last name.
- 2 Lit. 'black paper', a folk name for the official paper notification of the death of a soldier.
- 3 See, for example, fairy tale plot AA 480*B (Andreyev 1929).

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